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out of material which was once well known for fact, but has been lost in the mist of ages—is by the writer hereof regarded as warrant for bringing into this paper sundry narratives bearing upon the theory in question which in themselves may be of doubtful value, but which, when forming part of a symposium upon the theme of origin, may be legitimate material. 121

But we defer to a later stage of treatment of the general subject this phase of remote origin, only adding that, as regards the Mound Builders, it seems very probable that a rational connection will be found to be shown to exist between them and the Mandans; and that a few quotations from the earliest observers of the Mandans, by way of preliminary to an account of them when first known to civilized man, may not be out of place as indicating what we in the outset remarked as to their singularities.

Their Peculiar Characteristics. The Mandans conveyed to all visitors and observers who came in contact with them in the Eighteenth and the first half of the Nineteenth centuries the impression, in marked degree, that they were emphatically more civilized than other Indian tribes of the west, and that they were of such fair complexion and had hair and eyes of such color as to convey the distinct, profound impression—to some the belief—that they were not Indians in the usual sense of that word. 142 114

La Verendrye, who visited them in 1738 for several weeks, recorded of them that "their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed with white and black." "The women have not the Indian physiognomy." Le Raye, who as a prisoner of the Brule Sioux was taken up the Missouri river in 1803 and into the Mandan villages, observes of them that they are "of the lightest complexion," that their hair "inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so dark and coarse as most other Indians;" that "their eyes are full and lively" and that they are "courteous and sociable." General Clarke (of the Lewis and Clarke expedition), who wintered with them in 1804-5, told Catlin that he would find them "a strange people and half white." Alexander Henry, who in 1806 visited them, says: "What struck me as extraordinary among these people was several children about ten years of age whose hair was perfectly gray, and who thus resembled aged persons; those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not such strong, coarse hair as other nations of North America; they have it much finer,

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142 rather inclining to a dark brown, and I observed some whose hair
•114 was almost fair;" eyes not jet black, common to other Indians, but "inclined to be a dark brown; some few are dark gray."

Maximilian, who tarried among and critically studied them in 1833, observes that their noses are sometimes "aqualine, or slightly curved, and often quite straight" and "not so long and arched as those of the Sioux"; that their eyes are "in general long and narrow, of a dark brown color;" that the children's hair "is often only dark brown," and that Brackenridge "speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is gray, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears gray." While Catlin, who sojourned among them in 1832, declares that "they are distinct from all other red folks I have seen," as "differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen;" that they were "many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinement"; that they were called "polite and friendly Mandans" by the traders; that he "was struck with the peculiar ease and elegance" of them; that "the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes, the singularity of their languages and their peculiar and unaccountable customs" made him "fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race;" that "their personal appearance alone, independent of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less than Indians;" that a stranger "is first struck with the different shades of complexions and various colors of their hair which he sees in a crowd about him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that 'These are not Indians.'" That there are many women "whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry of features, with hazel, with gray and with blue eyes—with mildness and sweetness of expression and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them exceedingly pleasant and beautiful."

131 **Habitat.** The habitat of the Mandans when first seen by white
114 men from the east was, to what may be regarded as a moral
174 certainty, at and in the immediate vicinity, northward, of Mandan and Bismarck in what is now North Dakota, territory then claimed by Spain, and probably by England. We refer to the

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first visit by La Verendrye to the Mandans in November and December, 1738. We have not caused to be examined the Spanish chronicles to ascertain whether it is either certain or probable that subjects of that nation had come in contact with the Mandans prior to Verendrye's said visit; but if we are to credit the positive statement made to him by a Mandan Indian at the most northerly or prairie village of that tribe where he first made a stand among them—to the effect that the narrator and other Mandans had had a conflict with one or more white men to the south, who were on horseback and in armor, and that he had barely escaped with his life. Spaniards had penetrated into the near neighborhood of the Mandans on the upper Missouri before Verendrye visited them.

Verendrye—Where He Met Them. It is impossible to locate with any certainty the spot where, or even the immediate vicinity in which Verendrye met the delegation of Mandans who left their most northerly village and returned with his messengers (sent on to announce his coming) to a designated meeting place not far from that village and greeted and parleyed with him November 28th, 1738, and where the Mandan chief invited him to "his fort"—the nearest by and "smaller than the others," and informed him that there were "six forts." All that can be gathered clearly from Verendrye's record (being his official letter to the French governor general of New France, etc.) is that, having started from Michilimackinac on this expedition to the Mandans on the Missouri river, and having arrived at the Assiniboine river and built a fort there sixty leagues below the "forks" of that river—(which we believe to have referred to the confluence of the main stream with the Souris or Mouse river, some 150 miles west) southwest from what is now Winnipeg—he left this "fort" October 18th; three days thereafter the Assiniboine Indians joined him; that on October 21st, he reached the "first mountain," which he states was 26 leagues from his fort and south by southwest; that he next reached the "second mountain," traveling a west by northwest course 24 leagues (we are inclined to think this second mountain was Turtle mountain), and that from this mountain to the Mandans "is southwest;" that November 18th he arrived at an Indian village far (some sixty leagues) out of the direct route to the Mandans, to the west-southwest 120 leagues, to which point he was forced to go, being in the hands of Assini-

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more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife river **five** of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two accounts as to how many of them were **Mandan** villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Metaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

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must probably, therefore, regard Thompson's account (which included two Mandan villages below the Knife and on the westward side of the Missouri, and doubtless all those on both sides of the Knife) as contemplating the two villages on the south bank of the Knife as but one, since, if he regarded them (as did Lewis and Clarke) as two, his total would be **six** villages in the whole group, including the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri. In this connection the fact that Thompson's journal speaks of "the third village" (evidently counting from the **north** southward) as "Mahnon of the Mandans and a few Fall Indians," is significant as indicating a **second** Mandan village on the westerly side, and also as indicating that he had regarded the **two** villages of Lewis and Clarke on the south bank of the Knife as one. These considerations would, we believe, substantially harmonize Thompson's and Captain Lewis' journals on the basis of **five** villages in the whole group in question. Of these the **three** (of Lewis and Clarke) and the **two** of Thompson's most northerly villages are called "Fall" Indians by the latter, while Captain Lewis says (as shown above) that the lower of those three is the Mahaha, or Ahnahaways village—known to the French as Gens des Soulliers, and who were, according to Dr. Coues, Matthews and others, closely related to the Hidatsas, Minnetarees or Gros Ventres, and offshoots of the Crows, and differ but little from the Mandans. While the **two** (of Lewis and Clarke) and (probably) the **one** of Thompson's upper village or villages in the general group are called by Lewis and Clarke Minnetarees, "surnamed Metaharta," and the one north of the Knife is called by them "the proper Minnetaree nation." (Coues' ed., vol. 1, pp. 197-8.) These Minnetarees are said by Captain Lewis to be "part of the great nation called Fall Indians." (Id., p. 199.) And Coues' note at that point declares that the term is "traceable to the trader, Edward Umfreville, who was on the Saskatchawan in 1784-87, and who mentions these Indians as being about the falls of the south branch of that river" (Id., p. 199); that they were called, without reason, by the French Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies; while Matthews says the tribe thus referred to by Umfreville is that known as "the Atsinas, or Gros Ventres of the Prairie;" that there were "Minnetarees of the Prarie" and "of the Missouri"; that as designated by Lewis and Clarke they are "two entirely different tribes of Indians, the former being Atsinas, or the Fall

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Indians, and the latter being the Hidatsas, with whom they (Lewis and Clarke) are now wintering," and that it is necessary, when reading Lewis and Clarke, to bear this in mind. (Id., pp. 199-200.)

We have made this detailed explanation of those of said group of villages which were not properly Mandan, but whose occupants are said to have closely resembled them, in order to make clearer what was meant by all of the early visitors in referring to the general group as "The Mandan Villages."

As indicating the oldest definitely known habitat of the Mandans, on the first deserted Mandan village site found by Lewis and Clarke in proceeding up the Missouri, we find in their journal a reference to their having found at or near their camp, eight miles below the lower end of what is now known as Sibley Island —which latter is some fourteen miles below Bismarck, North Dakota—on the east bank of the Missouri, in Burleigh county, "the remains of an old village which is high and strong, and has been fortified; this our chief" (an Aricara) "tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri." (Vol. 1, p. 153, London ed.) That this location may be fixed very definitely, that journal may be quoted further as stating that that camp was "opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation;" that "near to one of these moles, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain" those "remains" were found. (Id.)

The narratives in Lewis and Clarke, from day to day after this first indication of former occupancy of the Mandans was seen by them, will show (as seen in extracts therefrom inserted hereinafter) that many such deserted villages were found by them in the neighborhood of Mandan and Bismarck, North Dakota. The "chief" referred to by them as having pointed out this first deserted site as that of the Mandans being an Aricara who was guiding the expedition, was beyond doubt possessed of knowledge enabling him to speak to the fact in the premises. Captain Lewis' statement, based upon the observations of the expedition and the declarations of the Aricara guide, by way of summary as to the former abodes and the migration of the Mandans therefrom upriver, is to the effect that "within the recollection of living wit-

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nesses the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about 80 miles below (i. e., below Fort Mandan), seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri," which two moved up the river "opposite the Ricaras" after becoming united, the seven (reduced to five) emigrating also "to the Ricara nation" in a body, forming "two villages"—all being driven thence as the result of attacks by Sioux and the ravages of smallpox; that being still insecure "the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present location. The two who had emigrated together settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about 40 or 50 lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second the same number; and both may raise (i. e., can muster) about 350 men."

E. R. Steinbreuck, of Mandan, N. D., who is connected with the State Historical Society of North Dakota, and who has examined many village ruins of both Mandans and Aricaras between Mandan and the Knife river, states in a letter to the writer hereof in 1908:

"There is one village on the road from Heart river to Fort Clarke, about half way, which I think to have been a Mandan village, while the next below, only about two miles distant, has been decidedly an Aricara village. Some of the Mandans may have stopped there on their move up to Fort Clarke region."

They Came from Whence? From what direction did the Mandans come to the locality on the Missouri river where were found their deserted villages in 1804? Two theories are, or have been extant upon this subject: One that they emigrated up the Missouri from the region of the mouth of the Ohio, or lower down, on the Mississippi; the other that they at one time lived to the northeast of those portions of the Missouri where those deserted villages and the Mandan villages near the Big Knife were located, and were driven to the Missouri by the Crees, Assiniboines and other tribes inhabiting the region of Lake Winnipeg and west and southwest therefrom.

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We believe they came up the Missouri from a point at least as far south as southern South Dakota, and probably much farther; that they progressed through what is now South Dakota and preceded the Aricaras here; that the supposition that they were in the Winnipeg country before they settled on the Missouri is not tenable; and that to the extent that their appearance on or in the neighborhood of the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan rivers is provable they were there seeking game and the extension of their then present domain on and in the vicinity of the upper Missouri, or battling with enemies at some distance from their own home base—a perfectly natural and probably necessary pursuit, as Indians have from time immemorial been wont to view the issues of tribal welfare and protection. 174

We shall not stop here to mass the evidences which, respectively, tend or are regarded as tending to support one or the other of these theories of the territorial origin or more ancient habitat of the Mandans, but will proceed to bring forward, in chronological order, the various accounts and narratives of the explorers and visitors who came in contact with them, and some few of the traditions and legends of those Indians themselves, as composing the body of the evidences at large in this paper, after first presenting in brief some authorities going to support the primary assumption that the Mandans were aborigines of South Dakota, and then citing the conclusions of some authorities as to who and what those Indians were among the American Indians; recurring later on to this point as to whence they came, in the light of all that is presented touching their remote habitat and involving at least some of the collateral evidences as to their origin.

Once Inhabited South Dakota. As supporting the assumption that the Mandans once inhabited some parts of what is now South Dakota and may be regarded as aborigines of this region of the Missouri valley, we will mention the conclusions of some explorers and writers, with some Indian traditions on that head.

Catlin believed it a fair deduction that "they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now (1833) are." That "there are many remains on the river below this place" (i. e., the Mandan villages below the Knife river, now North Dakota), "(and in fact to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis) which show clearly the peculiar construc- 114 174

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tion of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position." That the Aricaras in ascending the Missouri occupied lodge villages which had been abandoned by the Mandans. Hayden, whose exhaustive labors in tracing the origin of some of the tribes of western Indians have justly given him a high place among the authorities, and who gives Miahtanes, "people on the bank," as the name these Indians applied to themselves, infers therefrom that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period," while another eminent authority, Morgan (Syst. consang. and Affin., 285), assigns as the native name of the tribe Metootahak, or "South Villagers." The Handbook of American Indians, Vol. 1, p. 796, concludes that "all that can be gathered from them is the tradition that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake, and that "this tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke." This reference to a lake is here inserted, since the tradition in connection with it may relate to some one of the inland waters of the northwest, or to the ocean on the Atlantic coast, or to the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi, as will be shown farther on. E. E. Blackman, state archaeologist of Nebraska, in his report in 1902 refers to the Mandans as part of the Siouan stock, stating: "The Mandans were one of the first bands to break off from the parent stock, and the only excuse we have for counting them in our history is the probability that they crossed our borders in their way up the Missouri river, some time prior to the coming of the Skidi band in 1400." He adds: "The above is legendary and not a proven fact." Practically all of the authorities ascribe to them a Siouan origin, which in itself seems to warrant the probability that they once inhabited the country west of Minnesota and in the Missouri valley. The oldest ruins of Mandan lodge-villages on the upper Missouri, found by Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others, were not far from sixty miles north of the South Dakota line. (See S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 389, where in Part I. of this paper it is said to be about seventy miles.) Joseph H. Taylor, of Washburn, N. D., who with Daniel Williams (now of Painted Woods, N. D.) discovered in 1872 on Apple creek, seven or eight miles southeast from Bismarck, N. D., two old Indian village sites, states that inquiry among the Indians at that time led to information that those villages were Mandan, and

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that the occupants had been practically exterminated by the Sioux "near 140 years ago," that some young squaws and children were saved by the captors and that among their descendants was Medicine Bear, the well known Yanktonais chief of thirty years ago. As the Mandans are known to have been located at and across from Bismarck (at Mandan) some twenty years before Lewis and Clarke visited them, this Sioux tradition imparted to Taylor seems to further tend to show that the Mandans were driven up the Missouri from below Mandan by the Sioux. Dr. Cyrus A. Peterson, president of the Missouri Historical Society, is understood to have entertained the belief that the Mandans were traced by the remains of their habitations, and that they were thought to have lived along the central Missouri. Dr. Eastman, himself a Sioux Indian who was reared among them and who in his boyhood days wandered with members of his tribe over large areas of country, affirms that the Yanktonais Sioux traditions are to the effect that the Mandans inhabited the lower James river and other Missouri river country on the east side, which tradition is regarded as having existed some two hundred years. Little Owl, a Mandan Indian on the Fort Berthold reservation, and living in 1905 on the southeast side of the Missouri about four miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri, was interviewed, through an interpreter, by the writer of this article; and in giving an account of the traditional ancient habitat of his tribe stated that Bear-on-the-Water, who he said is "the oldest man," says they came from where the Mississippi empties into the sea; spoke of a "boat without oars" (sailboat?) in which they could go across the sea, "or anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere;" that the Mandans came all the way up the river to Heart river; that the villages down the river to the Mississippi that had ditches around them were Mandan villages; that one of the Mandan villages (bands) went north from the Heart river to Winnipeg, etc. Bear's Ghost, another Indian in the same neighborhood, interviewed the same day, and who claimed to be a full-blood Mandan, but who disclaimed having such information as certain older men whom he named possessed in the premises, entered into the traditional account of the origin of the Mandans, which seems to have involved the creation of things in general; and he declared it was "in the mouth of the sea, where this river (Missouri) empties into the sea" that the two "men" who made the earth, etc., met,

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and that the Mandan language was the first one made, etc. (See these narratives at large further on this paper.)

Mr. E. R. Steinbroeck, of Mandan, N. D., who has spent much time in examining both Aricara and Mandan village sites below and above Mandan, and who has compared the pottery and other utensils used by both, declares: "It seems to me beyond a doubt that the Mandans and the Arickara came in contact long before they crossed the boundaries between North and South Dakota," and doubts not that they came from "somewhere south before they settled at and near Heart River."

Further reference to the Mandans is found in the "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. 1, p. 797, where, after quoting Maximilian as declaring that "They affirm that they descended originally from the more eastern nations, near the seacoast," the account proceeds:

"Their linguistic relation to the Winnebago and the fact that their movements in their historic era have been westward up the Missouri correspond with their tradition of a more easterly origin, and would seemingly locate them in the vicinity of the upper lakes. It is possible that the tradition which has long prevailed in the region of northwestern Wisconsin regarding the so called 'ground-house Indians' who once lived in that section and dwelt in circular earth lodges, partly underground, applies to the people of this tribe, although other tribes of this general region formerly lived in houses of this character. Assuming that the Mandan formerly resided in the vicinity of the upper Mississippi, it is probable that they moved down this stream for some distance before passing to the Missouri. The fact that when first encountered by the whites they relied to some extent on agriculture as a means of subsistence, would seem to justify the conclusion that they were at some time in the past in a section where agriculture was practiced. It is possible, as Morgan contends, that they learned agriculture from the Hidatsa, but the reverse has more often been maintained. Catlin's theory that they formerly lived in Ohio and built mounds, and moved thence to the northwest is without any basis. The traditions regarding their migrations, as given by Maximilian, commence with their arrival at the Missouri. The point where this stream was first reached was at the mouth of White river, South Dakota. From this point they moved up the Missouri to Moreau river, where they came in con-

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tact with the Cheyenne and where also the formation of 'bands or unions' began. Thence they continued up the Missouri to Heart river, North Dakota, where they were residing at the time of the first known visit of the whites, but it is probable that trappers and traders visited them earlier."

In the foregoing account in the "Handbook"—certainly a very authoritative and recent exposition of the Mandans as to former habitat—it is seen that no reference is made to the supposed expulsion of them from the Winnipeg country by the Crees or Assiniboines, or to their ever having had a home there, while emphasis seems to be laid upon the theory that they once inhabited the upper Mississippi, moved down that stream "for some distance before passing to the Missouri," and that (on Maximilian's authority regarding their traditions) they first came to the Missouri "at the mouth of White river" in South Dakota, proceeding thence up the latter stream, and that they first came in contact with the Cheyennes at the Moreau river—which is some 75 miles south of the northern boundary of South Dakota. Other accounts which we refer to below show that, according to the Cheyenne traditions the latter Indians, when they crossed the Missouri about 225 years ago, crossed it near the mouth of the Cheyenne river, and that they there met the Mandans, still farther south; and that the Gros Ventres (or Minnetarees or Hidatsas) while coming from the north first encountered the Mandans on the upper Missouri and crossed that stream to join them. Whether the eminent editor of the "Handbook" (Hodge) and his able assistants intended, by refraining from referring to the Winnepeg theory in the foregoing account of the Mandans because of lack of confidence in it, or whether such course was taken because that theory is brought out in the "Handbook" in one or two instances in connection with accounts of other northwestern tribes can only be conjectured.

Lieut. Clarke, in "Indian Sign Language," speaking of the Gros Ventres, relates that Poor Wolf, then 61 years of age, and born near the mouth of Knife river, whom he found to be "a venerable, professor-like looking old fellow," dressed in a nondescript patchwork of mis-matches, including "a pair of old-fashioned iron spectacles," informed him that the Gros Ventres "migrated toward the Missouri river from the north, and here" (at or near Fort Berthold on the Missouri) "first met the Mandans. The

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Arickarees were then below Fort Pierre." We italicize. We here refer to Poor Wolf in no sense of disparagement in connection with his apparel, but rather in connection with the well known fact that he has long been regarded, and doubtless with good reason, as a prominent member and chief among his tribesmen and the "Confederated Village" at large, and as one whose knowledge of the tribal traditions is of a high order. We desire to point out the above quotation from that venerable and authoritative chief, by wayof comment upon Lieut. Clarke's statement on the next page of his account of the Gros Ventres (p. 195), wherein he says: "Their known migrations are limited to the Missouri River Valley, and from Knife river up to their present village (Fort Berthold), "and I am quite convinced that the Mandans moved from the north and joined them, crossing the river for that purpose." We again italicize. Our point is that not only Poor Wolf, but many other authorities to be found in connection with the history of the Gros Ventres in their relation to migration and contact with the Mandans seems to make it very plain and practically indisputable that the Gros Ventres came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region, hailed the Mandans across the Missouri, and after being visited by the latter, who crossed in "bull-boats" to parley with them, were allowed to cross and join them. And we can not but think that Lieut. Clarke, when making the statement last above quoted, had become somewhat confused amid the maze of traditions of the three Confederated Tribes which had grown up, and that he here imputes to the Mandans what really was done by the Gros Ventres.

The fact, too, that Poor Wolf's tradition to the effect that the Aricaras were below the Fort Pierre country when the Gros Ventres found the Mandans on the upper Missouri was recorded by Lieut. Clarke, indicates his inclination to listen to the suggestion that, as between the Mandans and the Aricaras the former were dominant over a long stretch of the river to the southward and were familiar with the fact that the Aricaras had not yet reached the Cheyenne river northward when the Mandans were joined by the Gros Ventres.

Cheyennes and Mandans. Lieut. Clarke, treating of the Cheyennes in "Indian Sign Language" (pp. 99-100), thus refers to the Mandans as incidental to the migration westward of the Cheyennes:

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"Occupying then the country at the headwaters of the Mississippi several hundred years ago, they were slowly forced westward by the Sioux, perhaps southward by the Mandans, the latter being driven from the north by the same power which pressed upon the Sioux, viz., the great Algonquin family, assisted in later years by French arms. It is more than probable that this migration was due in a measure to and determined by their search for game, as traditional evidence in regard to their relations with the Sioux and Mandans is not clear and conclusive." He then parenthetically refers to information given him by Lieut. Bailey, Fifth Infantry, "obtained from what is considered a reliable source," going to show (among other things) "that the Cheyennes met the Mandans two hundred and two years ago, as they—the Cheyennes—crossed the Missouri river. For several years they were at war with the Mandans, after this made peace and have maintained peaceable relations ever since. Before the whites commenced making war against these tribes they frequently camped together, and many Cheyennes and Mandans intermarried."

As this statement was made about 1881, the time thus fixed as that of the first contact between the Cheyennes and Mandans would be about 1680, and the same information shows that the Cheyennes, going westward, met the Mandans on the Missouri. This at least indicates clearly that the Mandans were domiciled on and probably west of the Missouri before the Cheyennes were driven there by pressure of other Indians from the east or north, and this situation seems out of harmony with the idea that the Mandans were behind the Cheyennes to northward and were drving them southward or westward, as supposed by Lieut. Clarke, at another point above quoted.

Again: As bearing out the supposition that the Mandans were established on the west side of the Missouri when the Gros Ventres came into that part of the country, we find in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, page 547, this reference to the Gros Ventres (as Hidatsas) and to the Mandans: "By the Mandan they are known as Minitari, signifying 'they crossed the river,' traditionally said to refer to their having crossed Missouri river from the east." Indeed, it is taken for proven that the Mandans were living on the west side of the Missouri at that time, as in the same account (p. 548) we find this reference to the former traditional habitat of the Gros Ventres, their subsequent alliance

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with the Mandans west of the river and the fact that they "learned agriculture" from the latter:

"According to their own tradition the Hidatsas came from the neighborhood of a lake northeast of their later home and identified by some of their traditionists with Mini-wakan, or Devil's Lake, North Dakota. They had here the circular earth-covered log house, in use also by the Mandan, Arikara and other tribes living close along the upper Missouri, in addition to the skin tipi occupied when on the hunt. Removing from there, perhaps in consequence of attacks by the Sioux, they moved southwest and allied themselves with the Mandans, who then lived on the west side of the Missouri, about the mouth of Heart river. The three tribes, Hidatsa, Mandan and Arikara, were all living in this vicinity about 1765. From the Mandan the Hidatsa learned agriculture. • • • In home life, religious beliefs and customs, house building, agriculture, the use of the skin boat, and general arts, they closely resembled the Mandan with whom they were associated."

Further reference is made in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, p. 251, under the heading "Cheyenne," to the locality on the Missouri where that tribe crossed that stream, viz: "The Cheyenne moved west toward the Missouri river, where their further progress was opposed by the Sutaio—the Staitan of Lewis and Clarke—a people speaking a closely cognate dialect, who had preceded them to the west and were then apparently living between the river and the Black Hills. After a period of hostility the two tribes made an alliance, some time after which the Cheyennes crossed the Missouri below the entrance of the Cannonball and later took refuge in the Black Hills about the heads of Cheyenne river of South Dakota." We have then various references to the point or locality of crossing the Missouri by the Cheyennes and where they came in contact with the Mandans with that event, the general and usual place of their reputed crossing being at or about the mouth of the Cheyenne river; the "Handbook" reciting the Moreau river as the point to which the Mandans had progressed up-river when they "came in contact" with the Cheyennes, and the above reference to the locality "below the entrance of the Canonball." All of these localities save the one last indicated are in South Dakota, while as to the locality "below" the Cannonball it may or may not have been within this state, since

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the mouth of that river is nearly fifty miles north of the line between the Dakotas. 1140 174

Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, in his note on the Cheyenne Indians (S. Dak. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 146) says concerning the locality in which that tribe crossed the Missouri: "For some time after the Cheyennes reached the valley of the Missouri they lived on its east bank, and finally crossed at or about the mouth of the Big Cheyenne river, South Dakota." He also says: "Alexander Henry says the Salteurs informed him that they severely defeated the Cheyennes in a great battle about 1740, after which the latter tribe abandoned the country, going westward. The Cheyennes of the present day give the time of their crossing the Missouri river at about 1690."

Their Upper Missouri Villages. We will briefly trace the localities in which the Mandans have lived on the Missouri river since their most ancient and definite village remains, actually discovered by the whites, were occupied, and so far as information has come to hand. 361

We regard it as almost certain that when La Verendrye visited the Mandans in 1738 and 1742 they were stationed in the neighborhood of and across from what is now Mandan, N. D., and were, according to that explorer, in "five forts on the two banks of the river"—how many were on each side not appearing. Lewis and Clarke's interpreters informed them that forty years prior to 1804 they were settled in nine villages—seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri, about eighty miles below the Fort Mandan built by that expedition. The closest calculation we can make of the actual distances traveled by Lewis and Clarke after they found the first or most southerly Mandan ruin—as shown by the data in their journal—until they had reached the most northerly of what they call the nine deserted villages, shows that the stretch of river covered by those sites was about twenty-eight miles (instead of twenty miles, as their journal states), and taking as true Dr. Coues' statement that the first Mandan ruin found by them was eight miles below the lower end of what he says is Sibley Island, or about twenty-two miles below Bismarck, we find that the northermost deserted Mandan village in that group must have been located about six miles north of Mandan, N. D. But, as will be seen from Lewis and Clarke's journal inserted hereinafter, they actually point out only eight village sites in that group,

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souri river, where they were living at the time they were discovered by the fur trader." That one of Dr. Robinson's authorities which he recalls as a basis for the foregoing statement concerning the Mandans having had an abode in the Lake Winnipeg country is, he declares, Clarke in his "Indian Sign Language," under various tribe headings therein, from some of which accounts we have hereinbefore quoted. He expresses with confidence his belief that he came in contact with further information leading to the same conclusion, but is at present without definite information as to the identity of such authorities.

We will now set forth the account at large of Sieur Pierre Gaulfier de Varennes de la Verendrye, as published in "Canadian Archieves" (1889 pp. 1-29), concerning his visit to the Mandans in 1738, being, so far as now known, the first formal approach made by white men to those Indians, from which will appear the decided agricultural proclivities of this tribe, a reference also to their formidable barricaded villages or "forts," their exceptional makeup as to complexion, their marked hospitality, their fear of the Sioux, their shrewdness as traders, etc.

Verendrye's Account. "On the morning of the 28th we arrived at the place selected for the meeting of the Mandans, who arrived toward evening—a chief with thirty men and the four Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his part, presented me with a gift of Indian corn in the ear, and of their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that it is not cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to account, the stocks and the leaves together. I gave him some of mine, which he thought very good. I acknowledged that I was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no difference from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout.

"I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for all we had been told. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboine, testifying the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival

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the country, principally with the Titon-anah band of Sioux. We concerted a plan for making an escape down the Missouri. As he had a light canoe, we prepared ourselves to leave the Indians, and accordingly, on the night of the 26th of April, we were so happy as to make our escape from these miserable beings. In ten days we arrived at the town of Saint John's, which is the upper settlement on the Missouri river, and from thence we proceeded to the lower settlements. Here I found myself in the full enjoyment of a freedom, of which I had long been deprived; having been a prisoner more than three years and six months. During this period I had been subjected to many severe sufferings. Although I had always been well treated by the Indians, I had undergone great fatigues, and was often much distressed for provisions. Frequent exposure to wet and cold, and the inclemency of weather, brought on a rheumatism, which became so severe, as to confine me eighteen months after I had obtained my liberty." (Pages 201 to 204.)

The document of LeRaye, showing his grand sweep from Canada through the Illinois country well towards the Gulf of Mexico west of the Mississippi, thence northward by many meanderings through the great region of the Missouri and its sources to the very edge of the Rocky mountains, thence back to Canada in the Winnepeg country, thence to near the sources of the Mississippi and back to the Missouri, up the valley again to the Ree villages, and back to the mouth of the "Jim," during nearly the whole of which period he was in the hands of the Indians and followed their capricious movements over practically one-third of the American continent and he being, so far as known, one of two white men who first saw the Flatheads and the Snakes, truly forms one of the most important records ever made relating to early explorations and actual contact with Indians anywhere in America, as it is certainly one of the most remarkable among all those pertaining to the northwest.

The journal richly merits publication as a whole and liberal dissemination among historical societies and students of history.

Lewis and Clarke Journals. The Lewis and Clarke journals come next in order of time, in developing the accounts of the first visitors to the Mandans, and will now be presented, wherein they touch that subject, commencing with the most southerly remains of Mandan village sites and continuing to embrace the

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● 114 winter's sojourn among them in 1804-5, and taking up the brief journal entries made on the return trip in 1806. The observations relating to these Indians, found therein, also embrace references to other neighboring tribes with whom the Mandans were in contact at the time, and which later we also insert, as we believe nothing can so well assist in showing the precise status of the Mandans on the upper Missouri when first known to the whites as their daily experiences showing their relation to their Indian neighbors.

While the journals of Lewis and Clarke relating to the Mandans are of very great value and, in themselves, give us knowledge of such character and scope as to enable us, without other evidence, to understand quite clearly most of the leading phases of the life of that tribe, yet it is probably within bounds to observe that, considering the length of time during which that notable expedition was quartered at the Mandan villages and the rare opportunities presented for gaining a comprehensive insight into the then more recent history of the tribe, where it came from and how it came to be established within those strong entrenchments and barricades at that point or in that general locality on the great river, the results recorded in those journals are less satisfactory than could be wished, or reasonably expected. Why were not those who were most responsible in that expedition in handing down to the government and posterity the obtainable evidences of leading Indian communities en route, and who were camped among the Mandans for five and a half months, able to ascertain and note down more than they did regarding the history and experiences of those Indians during, say one hundred or one hundred and fifty years immediately preceding that period? It seems incredible that among the members of a tribe so singularly intelligent and having, as all accounts unite in proving they did, so many characteristics leading to the suggestion if not the probability of mixture of Caucasian blood, there did not exist individuals who had treasured up, as have almost every Indian tribe in America, ancestral and tribal traditions in the nature of credible history which, if made known to investigators, would have laid bare the Mandan tribal history for several centuries far more clearly than is done in those journals. And if such individuals were at hand to be interviewed and prodded with persistent inquiry if necessary, until the truth was

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revealed in their responses, it would seem that the influence of so notable and numerous a company as sat down among them during that winter might and should have evolved more than seems to have been learned by the members of that commission and recorded in those journals. Similar observations would seem to be warranted concerning the relative brevity and absence of more detailed and exhaustive information touching their ancient customs, religion, etc. However, observations such as are here indulged in must be regarded as largely speculative. Just how much the patriarchs and leading men of the Mandans had stored up along the lines indicated, and how much of what they did possess they were willing to impart to this the first formal delegation of whites who had ever visited them from the south, is matter of mystery, not of history.

The journal entry first to be reproduced here occurs under date of Friday, October 19th, 1804.

First Mandan Ruins. After seventeen and a half miles we encamped on the north, opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation. Our chief tells us that the calumet bird lives in the holes formed by the filteration of the water from the top of these hills through the sides. Near to one of these holes, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain, are the remains of an old village which is high, strong, and has been fortified; this our chief tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri; opposite to our camp is a deep bend to the south, at the extremity of which is a pond. (Page 153, Vol 1, Lewis and Clarke's journal Original Edition, London, 1815.)"

Under the date-heading next following, the Lewis and Clarke Journal refers to a "creek on the north" which, according to Dr. Coues, is "Shepherd's Creek" of the Lewis and Clarke map and now known as Apple Creek; it is stated as being six miles below the southerly end of the island mentioned in said Journal. That creek is about seven or eight miles below Bismarck, N. D. The Journal continues:

"Saturday 20. At eight miles we reached the lower point of an island[1] in the middle of the river, though there is no current on

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versed and great apparent harmony; after which we returned to the boats." (id 370) 648

"Friday, 22nd. While here we had occasion to notice that the Mandans, as well as the Minnetarees and Ricaras, kept their horses in the same lodges with themselves." (id 372)

Patrick Gass' observations on the Mandans, taken from his journal made while a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, will now be presented. Gass was a redoubtable Irishman of sound sense and keen observation. While much of what he records is largely a duplication of the Lewis and Clarke entries in substance, yet it will be found upon comparison of the two records that considerable additional information is contained in his journal. Some of his descriptions of Indians, situations and circumstances surrounding the sojourn with the Mandans and at Fort Mandan are striking, and constitute a substantial addition to the main journals. The original edition, published by Ells, Claflin & Co., Dayton (Ohio), in 1847, is here referred to. 114

Journal of Patrick Gass—Lewis and Clarke Expedition. (p. 56, et seq.) 000

"Wednesday, 24th, (October 1804). At twelve we came to a hunting party of the Mandan nation of Indians, and remained with them until 2 and then continued our voyage. There were three lodges of these Indians on an island, which has been cut off the Grand Bend, a short distance below the Mandan village. We encamped on the north side. Five of the Indians came to us, and our Indian went over with them and returned in the morning.

"Thursday, 25th. Passed a beautiful bottom on the south side, and hills on the north. A great many of the natives, some on horseback and some on foot appeared on the hills on the north side, hallooing and singing. At 2, we stopped for dinner, and as we could not get our boat to shore on the north side, the water being shallow, our Indian was sent over to them. In the afternoon we passed a bottom covered with timber on the north side and hills on the south, and encamped on the north side. Here our Indian returned accompanied by one of the Mandans.

"Friday, 26th. Passed a large willow bottom on the south and high land on the north side. The Mandan Indian left us early in the morning. At 10, we came to a hunting party of the Mandans,

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The ground on which they play is a smooth level place about forty paces long and five broad; the players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground and trot on until they are half way through, then one of them throws the ball gently ahead in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game. At the same time, both players push their rods forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. Then then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops and count accordingly."

He learned a good deal about their self-mutilation and torture to which they subject themselves, and from which most of the men have lost a joint of each of their several fingers, the amputation being performed as a memorial to some relative. Before a young man can become a brave, he is required to do a penance. He strips entirely naked and repairs to a high hill, a day's journey from the village, in the depth of winter and must remain there as many days as his strength will permit, dancing, bawling, howling. Some of them have been known to remain out seven days in the severest weather. He is then to return to the village at full speed where he is met by a particular friend and for every day he is absent is given a bull's head, to which is fastened one and a half fathoms of cord and this is fastened to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders made by pinching up a fold of the skin through which is thrust the barb of an arrow. A separate incision must be made for each bull's head. He must then walk through the village, dragging these weights after him. He found that most of the women had their faces tatooed in a most disgusting manner.

Bradbury's Observations. John Bradbury, F. R. S., who with the noted naturalist, Nuttal, Brackenridge, and others, accompanied the Hunt-Astoria Expedition in 1811, tells of his experiences among the Mandans in his book entitled "Travels In the Interior of America," (printed in Liverpool and published in London, 1817).

In the following quotations therefrom, it will be noted that he remarks upon the "brown hair" of a Minnetaree squaw and her child. Also concerning She-he-ke (Shahaska or Big White), the taking of whom through to the states and back in connection with the Lewis and Clarke expedition involved so much trouble.

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The observations of Bradbury concerning the Rees may be found in Part I of this paper, (Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 432, et. seq.) Extracts from his book, relative to the Mandans follow:

Brown Hair. Big White. "28th. (June, 1811.) Having selected some silver ornaments which I proposed to present to She-he-ke, Mr. Brackenridge agreed to accompany me to the Mandan village. We obtained horses from Mr. Lewis for the journey, and about ten o'clock set off. We crossed Knife river at the lower of the Minnetaree villages, and paid the accustomed price to the squaw who ferried us over; for each of us three balls and three charges of powder. Before we left the village, we were invited into the lodge belonging to the White Wolf, one of the chiefs of this village, with whom we smoked. I was surprised to observe that his squaw and one of his children had brown hair, although their skins did not appear to be lighter colored than the rest of the tribe. As the woman appeared to be above forty years of age, it is almost certain that no intercourse had taken place between these people and the whites at the time she was born. I should have been less surprised at the circumstance had they been one of those tribes who change their places of residence; but they have not even a tradition of having resided in any other place than where the present village stands. The White Wolf appeared to be much pleased with our visit, and by signs invited us to call at his lodge whenever we came that way. He shook hands very cordially with us at parting. In our way to the Mandans we passed through the small village belonging to the Ahwahhaways, consisting of not more than eighteen or twenty lodges. This nation can scarcely muster fifty warriors and yet they carry on an offensive war against the Snake and Flathead Indians. On our arrival at the Mandans, She-he-ke, as before, came to the door of his lodge and said, 'Come in house.' We had scarcely entered when he looked earnestly at us, and said, 'whisky.' In this we could not gratify him, as we had not thought of bringing any. I presented the silver ornaments to him, with which he seemed much pleased, and after smoking we were feasted with a dish consisting of jerked buffalo meat, corn and beans boiled together. I mentioned to him my wish to purchase some moccasins, and he sent out into the village to inform the squaws, who flocked into the lodge in such numbers, and with so plentiful a supply, that I could not buy a tenth part. I furnished myself

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with a dozen pairs at a cheap rate, for which I gave a little vermillion, or rather red lead, and a few strings of blue beads. During our stay, She-he-ke, pointing to a little boy in the lodge whom we had not noticed before, gave us to understand that his father was one of the party that accompanied Mr. Lewis, and also indicated the individual. On our return we crossed the Knife river at the upper village of the Minnetarees. The old squaw who brought the canoe to the opposite side of the river, to fetch us over, was accompanied by three young squaws, apparently about fourteen or fifteen years of age, who came over in the canoe, and were followed by an Indian, who swam over to take care of our horses. When our saddles were taken off, and put into the canoe, Mr. Brackenridge and myself stepped in, and were followed by the old squaw, when the three young squaws instantly stripped, threw their clothes into the canoe, and jumped into the river. We had scarcely embarked before they began to practice on us every mischievous trick they could think of. The slow progress which the canoe made enabled them to swim around us frequently, sometimes splashing us; then seizing hold of the old squaw's paddle, who tried in vain to strike them with it; at other times they would pull the canoe in such a manner as to change the direction of its course; at length they all seized hold of the hind part, and hung to it. The old squaw called to the Indian who was following our horses. He immediately swam down to our assistance, and soon relieved us from our frolicsome tormentors, by plunging them successively over head, and holding them for a considerable time under water. After some time they all made their escape from him, by diving and swimming in different directions. On landing, by way of retaliation, we seized their clothes, which caused much laughing betwixt the squaw and the Indian. We had many invitations to have staid to smoke, but as it was near sunset, and we had seven miles to ride, they excused us." (p. 150-153.)

Brackenridge's Journal. H. M. Brackenridge, who came up the Missouri river with the Hunt-Astoria Expedition in 1811, and whose views on the Aricaras were presented in Part I of this paper, (Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 408, et. seq.), also briefly visited the Mandans, and some of his observations concerning them will now be presented. His travels on that occasion are published in his "Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri,"

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(Coale & Maxwell, Baltimore, 1816), and he also mentions briefly the tribe in his "Views of Louisiana," (Schaeffer & Maund, Balto., 1817.) He was a lawyer of keen observation, given somewhat to philosophical reflections upon the red man. The party reached the Mandan villages July 26, 1811. We quote as follows from his "Voyage," etc.:

Villages. "Wednesday, 26th, (July, 1811.) Continued our voyage through a beautiful country, on both sides of the river. In the afternoon passed by all five of the Mandan villages, which are situated upon high open plains, the village of She-he-ke, divided from the others by a handsome stream. The inhabitants had gathered to the bank to see us, several waded into the water, but returned when we beckoned to them not to approach. The men were generally naked, the women dressed according to their age or quality, from the course elk skin, to the elegant agalia. It was late at night before we reached the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47 degrees, 13 minutes N."

Brackenridge describes the grim spectacle of the aerial sepulcher of the Mandans:

Burial Scaffolds. "We made several excursions to the villages below, the nearest about six miles off; but as they differ but little from those of the Arikara, I will give no particular description of them. I noticed but one thing as remarkable.

"About two miles on this side of the first village, my attention was attracted by a number of small scaffolds, distributed over several acres of ground on the slope of a hill. I soon discovered that this was a depository of the dead. The scaffolds were raised on forks about ten feet, and were sufficiently wide to contain two bodies; they were in general covered with blue and scarlet cloth, or wrapt in blankets and buffalo robes; we did not approach near enough to examine closely, this frightful Golgotha, or place of human skeletons, but we could see a great number of valuable articles which had been left as offerings to the manes of the deceased. Several crows and magpies were perched upon them; we could not but experience a sensation of horror, when we thought of the attraction which brought these birds to this dismal place. Some of the scaffolds had nearly fallen down, perhaps overturned by the wind, or the effect of decay, and a great num-

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gender, except in addressing a man or woman. For my observation on the Mandan language, I am chiefly indebted to the kindness and patience of Mr. Kipp, who has lived eleven years among that people, had married an Indian wife, and had attained a perfect knowledge of the language. The Mandan names always have a signification, and are often equivalent to the whole sentences; all surrounding objects are made use of in giving names. I subjoin a few singular specimens: 'The bear which is a spirit'; 'The bull which is a spirit,' 'I hear somebody coming'; 'There are seven of them married to the old woman,' etc."

As seen from Maximilian's concluding words on the Mandans, he failed to find that the Mandans spoke the Gaelic language. But what he affirms in opposition to the claim that their complexion was fairer than that of other Indians in general seems in some contrast to his opening observations relative to their complexion. He thus concludes:

"In conclusion, I would say, that some have affirmed that they have found, in North America, Indians who spoke the Gaelic language; this has been said of the Mandans; but it has been long ascertained that this notion is unfounded, as well as the assertion that the Mandans had a fairer complexion than the other Indians."

Dr. Matthews' Views. "From a work entitled "Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians," prepared by Dr. Washington Matthews, assistant surgeon United States army, published by the federal government in connection with and as a part of Hayden's Survey (1877), we quote the following extracts from the elaborate and authoratative observations of Dr. Matthews found therein; he having been stationed near the Fort Berthold village of the confederated tribes in the sixties and seventies of the last century, and for several years while there made close study of the Mandan, Ariccaree and Hidatsa (or Minnetaree) Indians and of their language, particularly as to the Hidatsa language. His entire work in that behalf was published, composed of "Ethnography of the Hidatsa Indians," his "Hidatsa Grammar," his "Hidatsa Dictionary," and his "English-Hidatsa Vocabulary," in one volume. The entire work is of a very high order of excellence, and is in fact one of the leading authorities of its kind in existence. All that appears below is from his "Ethnography."

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114 The Mandans and Ariccaras come in for some separate treatment, but most of what is extracted herein is said by him as pertaining to the "Three Tribes" at Fort Berthold, above mentioned. Those extracts now follow:

Location of Confederated Village of Mandans, Etc. "An arid 131 prairie- terrace, some four miles wide, stretching southward to the Missouri from the base of bluffs which form the edge of a higher plain, becomes gradually narrower as it approaches the river, and terminates in a steep bluff of soft rock and lignite which overhangs the river. On the southern extremity of this terrace, near the brow of the bluff, stand the Indian village, and what remains, since a recent fire, of the old trading post of Fort Berthold. This is on the left bank of the Missouri, in latitude 47 degrees, 34 minutes north, and longitude 101 degrees, 48 minutes west nearly. About five years ago, a large reservation was declared for them in Dakota and Montana, along the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Fort Berthold is in the northeast corner of this reservation."

000 See, for further description of this site and surroundings, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 574-7.

Matthews' reference to the lodge-groupings in that village is as follows:

Dwellings. 361 "The village consists of a number of houses built very closely together, without any attempt at regularity of position. The doors face in every possible direction; and there is great uniformity in the appearance of the lodges; so it is a very difficult matter to find one's way among them."

342 And of the type of lodges as originally constructed, he gives the following description, with some features not noted by the earlier visitors:

Old-Style Lodges of Mandans, Etc. "Most of the houses of the village were in 1865 peculiar, large, earth-covered lodges, such as were built by various tribes of Indians of the plains, in the valley of the Missouri, and so often, with varying accuracy, described by travelers. Each one of these lodges consists of a wooden frame, covered with willows, hay, and earth. A hole in the top, which lets in the light and lets out the smoke, and a doorway on one side, are the only apertures in the building. The door is made of rawhide stretched on a frame, or of puncheons.

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smallpox in 1837, after which, for a time, they occupied only one village. In 1845, when the Hidatsa moved away from Knife river, some of the Mandans went with them, and others followed at different times afterwards. For a short time, it appears that a few Mandan families occupied the old Amahami village. We have an account of some moving up to the village at Fort Berthold as late as 1858, and of others still remaining at the mouth of Knife river at the same time.

"The word Mandan seems to be a corruption of the Dakota name Matani or Mawatani. Previous to 1837, they called themselves simply Numakaki, i. e., People, Men. They sometimes spoke of themselves and the Minnetarees together as Nuweta, **Ourselves.** A large band of their tribe was called Siposka-Numakaki, **Prairie-Hen People,** or Grouse Men. This name, Mr. Catlin, in his first work, renders, 'People of the Pheasants,' and in his last work, presents in the shape of 'Nu-mah-ka-kee (pheasants),' and then, from this translation, leaves us to draw the 'important inference' that the Mandans once lived in the Ohio valley. They now often call themselves Metutahanke, after their old village below Knife river." (p. 13-14.)

Matthews, in mentioning the earlier visitors of the Mandans, speaks in high commendation of the accounts of Maximilian:

Tribute to Maximilian. "Captains Lewis and Clarke, Mr. Catline, the Prince of Neuwied, and Dr. Hayden have written very full accounts of this tribe, and all but the first named explorers present vocabularies of their language. The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandans of today. In a few cases, however, I believe that the deductions which he drew from his observations were incorrect." (p. 14-15.)

Population—Official Reports—Errors. "The population of the village is not known. It is said that the inhabitants of some of the old villages allowed a census to be taken immediately before the epidemic which proved so fatal to them. They believed that their calamity resulted from the census, and have since resisted all efforts to ascertain their numbers. Many ingenious plans have been devised for counting them without their knowledge, but

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could trace any resemblance between the modern Mandan and Aricaree tongues. As far as I have observed them, there is not a single word alike in both. It is not likely that intercourse has produced a noteworthy approximation of languages in one case and none whatever in the other. There is no doubt that the Hidatsa language has changed in the course of time; but the change has resulted chiefly from causes other than the influence of the Mandan tongue. Some of the old men occasionally converse among themselves in terms which younger members of the tribe do not understand, and, when asked what they mean, they say they are trying to speak the old language." (p. 84.)

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D. D., LL. D., who was for so long a missionary of the Congregational church among the Dakota and other Indians, and who is author of the "Dakota Grammar and Dictionary" and "Gospel Among the Dakotas," has, in his book entitled "Mary and I. Forty Years With the Sioux" (W. C. Holmes, Chicago, 1880), given some account of the Mandans, whom he visited at Fort Berthold in 1874. We quote from said work, pages 271, et seq., the following:

Riggs' Observations On Mandans. "Here (at Fort Berthold, N. D.) were gathered the remnant of the Mandans, only a few hundred persons, and the Rees, or Aricarees, a part of the Pawnee tribe, and the Gros Ventres, or Minnetaree, properly the Hidatsa. Altogether, they numbered about two thousand souls. We had before this entertained the desire that we might be able to establish a mission among these people, and this thought or hope gave interest to my visit. The Mandan and the Hidatsa languages were both pretty closely connected with the Dakota; but what seemed to bring these nearer to us was the fact that many of all these people could understand and talk the Dakota, that forming a kind of common language for them.

"**Howard Mandan,** or '**The-man-with-a-sacred-face,**' as his Indian name is interpreted, was the son of **Red Cow,** the principal chief of the Mandans, and had been taken down by Gen. C. H. Howard, a year before, and placed in A. L. Riggs' school at Santee. Howard had returned home before my visit, and also Henry Eaton, a Hidatsa young man, who had been east a good many years and talked English well.

"George Catlin had, many years ago, interested us in the Man-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ADDENDA.

Since the completion of the foregoing article, the author has been afforded an opportunity of an examination of the work by Will and Spinden on the Mandans; and deeming it well worthy of mention herein, we have prepared a brief reference to some of the salient points brought out therein, which will be found below: 114

G. H. Will and H. J. Spinden. These gentlemen, being Harvard University students of the class of 1906, explored in part an old Mandan village site fourteen miles above Bismarck on the east bank of the Missouri in 1905, on behalf of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology; which labor is in part the subject of their "Papers," etc., published by that museum (Cambridge, Mass.) in 1906, under the title "The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Language." The work, which shows considerable study and research and is a highly interesting and instructive study of the subject treated of, deals, in three parts, of the "History, Life and Customs;" the "Archaeology;" and the "Language" of the Mandans. The illustrations are very faithful, and comprise the various specimens of pottery, implements, etc., found in said village site, and several illustrations of Mandan village sites visited by them in that locality. Part III ends with a valuable vocabulary of Mandan words compiled from Catlin, Maximilian, Hayden, Morgan and Schoolcraft; all of which vocabularies, they assert, came from James Kipp. The authorities relied on by them in regard to the general characteristics of the Mandans are the well known travelers and others among the classics, brought out in this paper. As pertains to the original habitat of the Mandans, these authors assert that previous to living upon the Missouri "they probably occupied some portion of the Ohio valley;" that that valley "would seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations"—the language of the Mandans being regarded by them as "unquestionably of Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock;" that "information upon the Mandan language is exceeding scarce and no very accurate or full gram-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 matical sketch exists." They dwell upon the lightness and other peculiarities of complexion of the Mandans, stating: "There can be little question that there was a tendency toward light complexion among the Mandans, and all of the authorities, even Maximilian, express the opinion that this was not from contact with the whites;" and while declaring it "difficult to decide" as to the cause of these peculiarities, they add: "It is almost needless to say that there is absolutely no trace either in language or in physical characteristics of any European origin or admixture." No professed study of this latter question seems to have been made by those worthy authors, so far as we are able to judge from said publication. We regret that we did not have access to a copy of said work in time to have dealt with it in the proper place in the foregoing paper.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931) 1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

riage with the Mandan. Bears Arm supplied information on Eagle-trapping Rites.

As the study progressed, less resistance to divulging sacred lore was encountered except in the recording of the People Above rites. The omission or incompleteness of data for some of the rites is due to the shortness of the period of study and the failure of the writer to recognize the significance of some of the rites in interpreting the ceremonial life until the study was nearly completed or while analyzing the data after leaving the field. By that time those who could have supplied the information had died. Additional information on the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan, particularly eagle-trapping, was obtained while making a study of the Hidatsa for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole in 1932 and 1933. Beloit College transferred the field notes on the Mandan to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1940, and the section on Mandan ceremonial organization was prepared at that time. The writer worked with Crows Heart, now ninety-two years of age and the only survivor of the original group of informants, during the summer of 1947 recording his autobiography. At that time the section dealing with the social organization was checked with him.

In the preparation of this manuscript, the writer has attempted to record as fully as possible the myths relating to the ceremony. At times these myths, because of their exceeding length, make reading difficult. However, were the myths removed from their proper context, the meaning of the various rites and practices of the ceremony would be lost. The introductory chapter is a brief summary taken from two other manuscripts recently prepared by the writer. These are: "Archeology of the Upper Missouri" and "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." These manuscripts may be examined at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. I have purposely avoided reference to cultural similarities to neighboring tribal groups other than to indicate broad cultural similarities with the Hidatsa.

In the brief recording of native terms the writer has employed the symbols used by Kennard in his report on "Mandan Gram-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

built a village on Eagle Nose Butte, where they remained until 1823, one year after James Kipp established a trading post at the Mandan villages.

Various aspects of Mandan culture were recorded by visitors to the region after 1832. Catlin and Maximilian described the village life in 1832 and 1833 from observations made of their daily activities.[12] Chardon's journals, written at Fort Clark between 1834 and 1839, carries a day-by-day account of the tribe during the second major smallpox epidemic of 1837 and of the reorganization of the population at that time.[13] Kurz, Boller, and Matthews have described various aspects of their culture as observed between 1851 and 1870.[14]

After 1870, the Mandan received little attention until 1908, when Libby used native informants to identify village sites of the Mandan and other tribes on the Upper Missouri.[15] He showed that Mandan sites could be distinguished from those of other tribes by the peculiar arrangement of lodges around a central plaza or open circle. A year later Curtis published a report of the Mandan covering various aspects of their culture.[16] Between 1912 and 1919, Lowie published reports on the social organization, societies, and ethnological problems of the Mandan based on field work with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow.[17]

12. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *O-Kee-Pa* (Philadelphia, 1867); Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, Vols. XXII–XXIV (Cleveland, 1906).

13. *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834–1839*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S.D., 1932).

14. *Journal of Rudolph Friederick Kurz*, ed. J. N. B. Hewitt (Bulletin 115 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1937]); Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858–1866* (Philadelphia: Elwood Zell, 1868); Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* ("U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey, Miscellaneous Publications," Vol. VII [Washington, 1877]).

15. O. G. Libby, "La Verendrye's Visit to the Mandans in 1738–39" and "Typical Villages of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa in the Missouri Valley, North Dakota," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II (1908).

16. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, Vol. V: *The Mandan*, ed. Ferderick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1909).

17. Robert H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *American Anthropology*, Vol. XIV (new ser., 1912); *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1913]); *Social Life of the Mandan and Hidatsa* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXI [1917]); *The Hidatsa Sun Dance* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVI [1919]).

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Will and Hyde studied the agriculture of a number of Plains tribes which included the Mandan.[18] Their report indicated that much of the aboriginal Mandan culture could still be preserved from the knowledge of a number of the older Mandan. Densmore's study of Mandan and Hidatsa music indicated something of the rich ceremonialism shared by these two tribes.[19] Beckwith studied and recorded the folklore of the Mandan during the 1930's.[20] Although her reports by no means cover all the secular and sacred myths of this tribe, a considerable body of traditional lore was preserved and recorded during several brief visits to the tribe. Kennard studied the Mandan language in 1933 and published a report on Mandan grammar in 1936.[21]

Archeological studies have not kept pace with the ethnological studies of this important Plains tribe. The first intensive archeological study of a Mandan earth-lodge village site was made by Will and Spinden in 1905 at the Double Ditch site, the residence of the Nuptadi Mandan on the east bank of the Missouri north of Bismarck, North Dakota.[22] Subsequent studies by Strong[23] and by the writer in other documented Mandan sites of the same region show that minor cultural differences existed between Mandan sites of the same period. In 1908 Libby employed native informants to assist in the interpretation of archeological phenomena.[24] He found that lodge arrangement around an open circle was characteristic of the Mandan and Arikara villages, the latter group placing a large circular ceremonial lodge in the center of the open circle, whereas the Hidatsa practiced no particular lodge arrangement, and that the leaders of the Mandan villages lived adjacent to the village plaza. He in-

18. George F. Will and George E. Hyde, *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis: William Harvey Miner Co., Inc., 1917).

19. Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* ("Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology," Bull. 80 [Washington, 1923]).

20. Martha W. Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

21. Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

22. George F. Will and H. J. Spinden, *The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Ethnology* ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University," Vol. III, No. 4 [Cambridge, Mass., 1906]).

23. William Duncan Strong, *From History to Prehistory in the Northern Great Plains: Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C [Washington, 1940]).

24. *Op. cit.*

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dicated that La Verendrye had actually reached the Hidatsa and not the Mandan when making a winter trip to the Missouri in 1738. He based his conclusions largely on the journals of the course followed after leaving the Souris River. He believed that La Verendrye reached the Missouri River near the present town of Sanish, North Dakota. Because of the absence of large earth-lodge village ruins near Sanish, this opinion has been largely rejected by subsequent students of Mandan-Hidatsa history.

The first reference to observed temporal differences in cultures of earth-lodge sites in the area was made by Will, who wrote:

> In pursuing the above-described work an impression gradually grew that there were two rather distinct types of sites in the region, distinct enough in fact so that nearly every site could be referred readily to one or the other group. The center for one type seems to be below the Heart River, with the Huff site as perhaps the best representative. The second type is found at and above the mouth of the Heart River altogether, although the lower sites seem to overlap. . . . A reasonable conclusion therefore seems to be that the two types must represent a difference in time and culture between two periods of occupation by the same tribe. This agrees well with the historical traditions of the Mandan, and seems a fair hypothesis although much longer and more detailed work would be required to demonstrate it fully.[25]

The relative age of sites near the Heart River suggested by Will has been demonstrated to be correct by archeological explorations in the sites by Strong,[26] by Will and Hecker,[27] and by the writer. In another report the writer enumerated pottery traits and frequencies that could be used to distinguish Hidatsa sites from those of the Mandan and indicated that the sites showing pottery traits characteristic of the Hidatsa village groups were traditionally Hidatsa sites according to the information of both Mandan and Hidatsa informants.[28] Having established the frequency of pottery types characteristic of the documented Mandan sites of the early historic period, it was shown that differences in frequencies occurred between different levels within each village site and that the same changes in

25. George F. Will, *Archaeology of the Missouri Valley* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXII, Part 6 [1924]), p. 341.

26. *Op. cit.*

27. George F. Will and Thad C. Hecker, *Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota* ("North Dakota Historical Quarterly," Vol. XI [1944]).

28. Alfred W. Bowers, "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago).

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sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

In summary, the above report covers the main features of the Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization were simplified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural borrowing, since a companion report covering details of the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited from earlier times when the population was materially larger. That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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THE MANDANS.

A STUDY OF THEIR CULTURE, ARCHAEOLOGY AND LANGUAGE.

●114 As yet very little archaeological work has been done on the old sites of the Mandan villages in North Dakota, although they are numerous, interesting, and rich in material relating to the past life of the people. The sites in some places have been injured by plowing and farming, but most of them are in good condition, though in a precarious situation owing to the rapid settlement and increasing cultivation of the land about them. Many of the sites have been marred by relic hunters and inexperienced collectors, but none are seriously damaged.

Besides the collection in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge which forms the basis of the archaeological section of this paper, collections from this region are also in the possession of: the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Minnesota State Historical Society, the North Dakota State Historical Society and the National Museum in Washington. The Minnesota and North Dakota collections, while large and interesting, were not the result of careful, systematic work on any one site.

No single site has yet been fully investigated, and the work last summer was the first attempt at a thorough exploration. A complete excavation of the entire site was beyond the resources of the expedition, which confined itself to a detailed examination of certain selected areas. There still remains a wide field for additional investigation.

On the ethnological side little further research is possible owing to the practical extinction of the tribe. All that can be done is to assemble and sift the considerable mass of information to be gathered from the accounts of early travellers.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The position of the Mandans on the main travelled road up the Missouri to the fur country, the fact that their villages were one of the recognized stops on this journey, and their difference from the average Plains Indians which surrounded them, caused travellers to take especial note of them. Moreover, there were many wonderful tales concerning them scattered abroad over the country, started probably by their own less cultured neighbors. Hence there are a number of historical accounts running from the early part of the 18th century, to the middle of the 19th. Only a few of these make any mention of the old village sites.

The first known account of the Mandans is that of the Sieur de la Verendrye.[1] As agent of a Canadian fur company, he made the trip across country from the Portage du Prairie to the Mandan villages in the fall of the year 1738. His account is some fifteen pages long, and is very interesting as giving the only picture of the Mandan period of prosperity which can be obtained. He was led to make this trip to extend the fur trade and because of the wonderful stories related to him by the Assiniboines. Verendrye in his visit to the Mandans was disappointed because they did not come up to these tales.

There is a long jump between Verendrye's account and that of Lewis and Clarke, and this gap is bridged only by an account which cannot be found and is only known to exist by mention of it in a letter.[2] It is said to be the story of a certain McKenzie, who in the employ of a Canadian fur company visited the Mandans in 1772 and brought back a glowing account of them.

Lewis and Clarke,[3] however, are the next certain chroniclers. They arrived among the Mandans in the fall of 1804, and spent the winter at Fort Mandan in the neighborhood of the Mandan villages. Their account is good, but the details are scattered and must be collected from a mass of other material. They furnish practically the only information concerning the

[1] Brymner: Report on the Canadian Archives, 1889, pp. 3-39. Margry, P.: Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francois dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique septentrionale, vol. VI, pp. 582 et seq. Paris, 1886.

[2] Quoted in Schoolcraft: History, Condition and Prospects, vol. III, p. 222.

[3] All the important editions of the Journals have been examined; for convenience, reference will usually be made to date of entry only.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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location and early condition of the archaeological remains both of the Mandans and Arikara, and their account is thus doubly valuable. 114

Next in point of time comes the journal of Alexander Henry, who visited the Mandans during the year 1806. He was a trader for the Northwest Company and came to the Mandans in connection with the fur trade. He kept a fairly full journal, which was edited and published by Dr. Elliot Coues.[1] In this he gives the details of several weeks residence among the Mandans and Hidatsa with reasonably full descriptions of many interesting details of their life.

After Henry, came two men of lesser importance, but who give some additional facts, although devoting most of their space to the Arikara. These are Brackenridge[2] and Bradbury,[3] who came together, in 1810, and each of whom later printed an account of their journey. The former was an American, the latter an Englishman of scientific interests.

The next authority, chronologically, is the artist and Indian lover, George Catlin.[4] He visited the Mandans in the spring of 1833, and has devoted almost two hundred pages in his "North American Indians" to an extended account of that tribe. All his work is colored by his romantic imagination and deep love for the Indians, nevertheless in matters of actual fact he seems to be as reliable as any other authority, judging from comparison with Maximilian and others. Catlin became a great supporter of the wild theory that the Mandans were of Welsh origin, little of this appears, however, in his main work, and his facts have not been interfered with by his theories. His drawings are probably a little idealized, but they, too, afford a reasonably accurate source of information.[5] Withal it may be said that while Catlin's theories are to be questioned, his facts are of value.

[1] New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest; the Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson. 1799–1814, 3 vols. New York, 1897.

[2] Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri. Baltimore, 1816.

[3] Travels in Interior America. Liverpool, 1817.

[4] North American Indians. New York, 1841.

[5] Matthews: The Earth Lodge in Art. Amer. Anth. (N. S.), vol. IV, pp. 1 et seq.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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●114 After Catlin comes Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied.[1] During the winter of 1833–4 he passed several months among the Mandans, and has given us a minute and accurate account of the manners and customs of the people in so far as he observed them. In addition he has given one of the best vocabularies of Mandan and almost the only grammatical sketch of that language. This, though incomplete, is of great value. There is nothing romantic and imaginative in Maximilian's style and treatment of the Mandans, and he may be justly recognized as the best of the various authorities.

Besides these more important chroniclers of the Mandans there is a group of minor authorities to whom something is due for an occasional fact. Most of these men have taken their accounts almost wholly from the above first-hand narratives, making in some cases small additions of their own. First in this group is Patrick Gass,[2] a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition. With the exception of McKenzie and Larocque,[3] two Northwest Company men who tell us scarcely anything, he is the only one of the minor authorities who writes from personal observation. The others are men who have only condensed what has been gathered by reading, such are Schoolcraft,[4] Hayden,[5] and Matthews.[6]

172 361 The remains which form a basis for the archaeological section of the present paper are part of a single village site. There are numerous other sites of a similar type scattered from the Grand River in South Dakota, to the north side of the Knife River in North Dakota. These sites are attributed to two different tribes, the Mandans and the Arikara. We may first consider the remains which seem to be of Mandan origin.

The field in which these sites are found is restricted to an area along the Missouri River from a few miles south of Apple

[1] Voyage en l'Amerique du Nord. Paris, 1843.

[2] Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a corps of Discovery under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke. Philadelphia, 1813.

[3] Journals in Masson, Les Bourgeois de la Campagnie du Nord-Ouest, vol. II. Quebec, 1889.

[4] Op. cit., vol. III, pp. 243 et seq.

[5] Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley. Trans. Am. Philos. Soc. (N. S.), vol. XII, pp. 433 et seq.

[6] Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians. Washington, 1877.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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SECTION III.

LANGUAGE.

197 The language of the Mandans is unquestionably of the Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock. The Hidatsa is perhaps nearest to the Mandan but even that differs materially both in vocabulary and grammatical construction. It has been said that the Winnebago resembles most closely the Mandan, but from a careful comparison with vocabularies containing over one hundred equivalents from some six or seven Siouan dialects it appears that this resemblance is not as great as that between the Winnebago and the Iowa.

197 The Mandans were excellent linguists and we are told by early travellers that they were accustomed to learn the lan-
191 guages of nearly all their neighbors, while very few of the other tribes ever learned Mandan. Such a condition was apt to bring about considerable change in the language, and very likely it did so. Maximilian was told by the old men that in their youth the Mandan and Hidatsa resembled each other much less than they did in 1834. The songs of the Okeepa and society dances were in an older language which no one but the medicine men and those whom they taught understood. And lastly at this time the Mandans in the two villages spoke different dialects. The ones on the south side of the river, who thus had more intercourse with the Hidatsa, spoke a dialect resembling that language more closely than did the dialect in the northern village. Words in the south village became shortened to resemble the more abrupt speech of the Hidatsa, and sound changes, notably that of *d* for *n*, crept in from the latter.

●114 Information upon the Mandan language is exceedingly scarce and no very accurate or full grammatical sketch exists. Small vocabularies are found in many places, but these have

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

never before been brought together. Those given by Catlin, Maximilian, Hayden, Morgan and Schoolcraft have been carefully gone over and a composite vocabulary (see following pages) of all the words has been compiled. Several other lists of words were examined and were found to contain only words taken from the above authorities. James Kipp who lived in the Mandan villages for a large part of his life furnished every one of the above mentioned persons with their material, and consequently all vocabularies of the Mandan language come through him.

Maximilian and Hayden both left short grammatical sketches, very incomplete, which have, nevertheless, been of considerable assistance in the preparation of this paper.

Mandan texts have been most difficult to obtain, there being only two small publications printed in that language. One is a translation of the Ten Commandments by the Rev. Charles L. Hall.[1] The other is a hymn book containing also the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, prepared by Mr. R. D. Hall, which has been of the greatest assistance in further grammatical study.

PHONETICS: — The question of phonetics in the Mandan is very uncertain. There is no full discussion of the subject and in taking down vocabularies little care seems to have been used to obtain the exact sound, each authority spelling the same word a little differently. Consequently an enumeration of the Mandan sounds can only be an approximation.

The vowels were *i*, *e*, *a*, *ŏ*, *o*, *u*, and perhaps *ü*. The *a* seems to be as *a* in "father." The *e* is used as *e* in "met" or as *ä* in German. No distinction can be made between the two as both are used in different vocabularies in the same word.

The *i* is long as in "machine;" *o* is long as in "note;" *ŏ* is short as in "not." A clear distinction between the two *o*'s cannot always be made however. The *u* is long as *oo* in "boot" or as the German *u* in "buch." The German *ü* occurs occasionally in Maximilian but in no other vocabularies.

The vowels seem often to be nasalized (koha^{n}te=corn) as in Dakota, though careless transcription has failed to note this.

[1] See Pilling: Bibliography of the Siouan Languages; Washington 1887, p. 31.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

PREFACE.

12] The Hidatsa, while most closely related to the Crow, have been in close contact with the Mandan for so long a period that the culture of all three tribes must be considered in conjunction. That is to say, it is impossible to acquire an accurate picture of Hidatsa life without taking into account, on the one hand, the persistence of old elements characteristic of the parent tribe before its division into Crow and Hidatsa and, on the other hand, the influence exerted by the Mandan subsequently to the Crow separation. Our information on the Mandan, for reasons stated below, is tantalizingly meager and suggests rather than solves problems. Fortunately, the Crow data are sufficiently extensive to permit a comparison of their social culture with that of the Hidatsa and to make possible a reconstruction of their pristine organization. In a previous paper of this series issued in 1912 (Vol. IX, part II) I dealt with the "Social Life of the Crow Indians." Since its appearance I have paid several visits to this people and have secured much additional information, which partly confirms and in part supplements and amends my earlier results. I have naturally devoted much more space to the new material but found it necessary to summarize briefly some facts previously described.

124 A few words may be in place regarding the method followed in illustrating the use of Crow kinship terms. It has become clear to students that relationship nomenclature harbors innumerable pitfalls for the field investigator. These can be minimized only by utilizing every possible means of checking the information obtained. We must not content ourselves with abstract statements nor even with the confirmation supplied by a genealogical scheme but should determine the use to which terms are put by the native when not harried by ethnological questioning, when, in other words, he is in a perfectly normal and naïve position with reference to his tribesmen. One way to do this is to keep one's ears open in Indian households when not ostensibly engaged in belaboring the aboriginal consciousness; another equally effective one is to collect systematically the evidence yielded by mythological texts. It is even possible to make use of myths taken down in English provided the recorder insists on noting down in the vernacular every relationship term that occurs.

124 The Hidatsa and Mandan were visited in the summers of 1910, 1911, and 1913, while my acquaintance with the Crow dates back to 1907 and has been frequently renewed since.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

June 15, 1917.

[p. 2 is blank]

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 nō'hakàs. Daughter's husband.
pta +i' maratokās. My wife's father.
ptù hinî ks. My wife's mother, my wife's mother's sister.

601 114 It will be noted that beyond the second ascending and the second descending generations no relatives are designated by special terms, lineal and collateral ancestors being classed with grandparents and descendants with grandchildren, regardless of male or female lines.[2] This fact is borne out in detail by Morgan's schedules. According to these, it would appear that no distinction was drawn between the father's father's and the mother's mother's sister, nor between the father's father's and the mother's mother's brother. On the latter point I unfortunately failed to get data, which would have been of interest in comparison with the Hidatsa usage of classing the maternal grandmother's brother with the elder brother. According to Morgan the word for grandchild was also applied to the sister's grandchild (w. sp.), brother's grandchild (m. or w. sp.), and the sister's son's wife (m. sp.).

With the father Morgan, doubtless correctly, classes the mother's sister's husband and the stepfather. His identification of the father's sister with the mother in female parlance, however, seems doubtful since both my informants were women but gave a single word for the paternal aunt, corresponding to one of Morgan's terms for male usage. A second word given by Morgan for the father's sister (m. sp.) [177] *mā-sā-we*, is not Mandan at all but unmistakably the Hidatsa *bacā'wi*, which is used by both sexes. On the other hand, Morgan has only the equivalent of *tà waratòre'* for the maternal uncle, while I also obtained a distinct word for women's use as well as the classification with the elder brother (by men only?).

Except for the applications already mentioned, my connotations for the elder brother term closely coincide with Morgan's, which is also essentially true of the younger brother category. The essential point here is that women have a single term for elder and younger brother coinciding with the men's word for younger brother, the men having an additional term for the elder brother.

In the designation of sisters there is only partial parallelism. To be sure, the [171] women (i. e., members of the sex of the person designated) have two distinct words for elder and younger sister, while the men have only one. The men's generic term, however, does not coincide with either of the women's words so that there are not two words but three to be reckoned with. Here Morgan agrees as regards the men's word, but differs in ascribing a single generic term to the women. Analogy, not only with the brother terms but also with the usage of other Siouan tribes, such as the Winnebago, strongly suggests that Morgan is in error.

My list contains two words for son without clear differentiation. Morgan practically restricts *minike'* to male and *kunika'* entirely to female speech. The latter word is also translated by him to cover the brother's son, sister's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's sister's son's son and mother's sister's daughter's son,—all with a woman speaking. He interprets *minike'* to cover the son, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's son's son and stepson in male speech, and the stepson and father's brother's daughter's son in female speech. The two last-mentioned meanings are not very convincing; more particularly, the father's brother's daughter being classed with the sister, her son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a "son" for women according to the usual classificatory rules, and it is not at all clear why this particular "son" should be distinguished from others by substituting a word ordinarily confined to male usage. It is further strange that a woman should

[2] [Consult category 116, pp. 124 for information on the kinship terms.—Analyst]

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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use a single word for brother's and sister's son. On the other hand, my own list of meanings for *minik'* is rendered somewhat doubtful by extending the word to the brother's son of both men and women. A similar feature of the daughter category, however, viz., the classing of the man's brother's daughter with the woman's, is supported by Morgan's as well as my own informants.

One of my words for husband, *mi' morus*, is approached by Morgan's *mo-mer-ul*, while his *moo-hul* and his *moo-ha* for wife and brother's wife are at least of the same stem as my *mũ'us* and *mu' uhõ'aks* (m. rp.). I did not get the words by which the wife's and the husband's fathers and mothers address each other, but analogy with other Siouan systems supports Morgan's statement that there are distinct terms, which he gives as *kote'-he-a* for the father-in-law and *me-ho-he-a* for the mother-in-law. My list also lacks a word for wife's sister, which Morgan gives as *noo-ko-ho-mus*.

Instead of *koo-too'-min-ik* I have *ptun'* for brother's wife (w. sp.); Morgan's informants, consistently enough, included under his term the father's brother's son's and the mother's sister's son's wife. In my list the husband's sister is put into this category.

To my *p'i'ũ'is* for daughter's husband clearly corresponds Morgan's *p'too'-ta*, brother's daughter's husband (m. sp.), which indicates that his *ko-too'-te* is merely a form of the same stem. He gives many connotations for this word, none of which (except son-in-law) is given in my series. Thus, Morgan, translates it also "husband's father" and "husband's mother" and reciprocally "daughter-in-law" (m. sp. and w. sp.), but here judging from analogy, he is almost certainly wrong, the latter relative being classed with the grandchild, the parents-in-law with the grandparents, as my list indicates. Consistently with his classification of the brother's with the sister's daughter (w. sp.) and with the customary classificatory extensions, Morgan further lists under the same caption the brother's son's wife, brother's daughter's husband (w. sp.), sister's son's wife (w. sp.) and sister's daughter's husband (w. sp.). Of these meanings only those applied to men are compatible with my data.

My *mũ' wa'k i ka'*, wife's brother, sister's husband (m. sp.) is phonetically the equivalent of Morgan's *wo-ut' ke-a* and *wo-ut-ka*. He gives various additional meanings, viz., sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother, sister's daughter's husband (m. sp.), father's brother's daughter's and mother's sister's daughter's husband. The two last-mentioned meanings follow of course from the meaning "sister's husband." That a woman should call the sister's husband by the same term applied by a man to his brother-in-law, seems rather improbable, but unfortunately I did not get evidence on this point. On the other hand, I have two distinct terms for the husband's brother, so that in this respect Morgan's data seem inaccurate. Altogether it is regrettable that the terms of affinity are involved in so much doubt.

Social Customs.

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On this subject I only collected a few items, some of which, however, are of some comparative interest.

As among the Hidatsa and Crow, there was a joking-relationship, which obtained among the sons and daughters of men belonging to the same clan. These relatives, if such they may be styled, were called *i'irusit*.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Reeptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 190.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by these travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahwahaways (Vol. I. p. 118), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; Ehwaim Mahowha, where the Arrawahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharra, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahowha, which ought probably to be Mashaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by us, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to us, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted us, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

161 Morse,* therefore, estimates the number of these people rather too high, when he states it at 1250 souls.

142 The Mandans are a vigorous, well-made race of people, rather above the middling stature, and very few of the men could be called short. The tallest man now living was Mahchsi-Karehde (the flying war eagle), who was five feet ten inches two lines, Paris measure (above six feet English). In general, however, they are not so tall as the Manitaries. Many of them are robust, broad-shouldered, and muscular, while others are slender and small limbed. Their physiognomy is, in general, the same as that of most of the Missouri Indians, but their noses are not so long and arched as those of the Sioux, nor have they such high cheek bones. The nose of the Mandans and Manitaries is not broad—sometimes aquiline, or slightly curved, and often quite straight. Their eyes are, in general, long and narrow, of a dark brown colour; the inner angle is often rather lower in childhood, but it is rarely so in maturer age. The mouth is broad, large, rather prominent, and the lower jaw broad and angular. No great difference occurs in the form of the skull: in general I did not find the facial angle smaller than in Europeans, yet there are some exceptions.† Their hair is long, thick, lank, and black, but seldom as jet and glossy as that of the Brazilians: that of children is often only dark brown, especially at the tips; and Bradbury speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is grey, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears grey. The families of Sih-Chida and Mato-Chiha are instances of this peculiarity. The latter chief was particularly remarkable in this respect: his hair grew in distinct locks of brown, black, silver grey, but mostly white, and his eyebrows perfectly white, which had a strange effect in a tall otherwise handsome man, between twenty and thirty years of age. They encourage the growth of their hair, and often lengthen it by artificial means. Their teeth, like those of all the Missouri Indians, are particularly fine, strong, firm, even, and as white as ivory. It is very seldom that you see a defect or a tooth

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* See Dr. Morse's Report, p. 252. He speaks (p. 249) of the Mandans, Blackfeet, Rapid (Fall) Indians, and Assiniboins. His tables of the Indian population of the United States are in page 262.

† Say, who, in general, gives a very accurate description of the North American Indians (see Major Long's Travels), lays too much stress, as it appears to me, on the character of the receding of the forehead; for, by a comparison of a great many skulls, I have fully convinced myself of the contrary. Say affirmed, also, that the facial angle is not so small as Professor Blumenbach supposes. The Indian features, as far as my experience reaches, cannot be called either Mongol or Malay, the latter of which is more perceptible in the Brazilians, notwithstanding the manifest affinity with the North Americans. The learned traveller, Augustus de St. Hilaire, even attributes to the Brazilians a conformation of the skull, according to which those people are endowed with inferior intellectual faculties. (See Voyages dans les Districts de Diamande). The missionary, Parker, in his Travels to the Columbia River, p. 155, expresses himself, in this respect, entirely in accordance with my views; and D'Orbigny confirms them in respect to the South Americans, in the conformation of whose skulls he found considerable diversities.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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LETTERS AND NOTES

ON THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

LETTER—No. 1

As the following pages have been hastily compiled, at the urgent request of a number of my friends, from a series of Letters and Notes written by myself during several years' residence and travel amongst a number of the wildest and most remote tribes of the North American Indians, I have thought it best to make this page the beginning of my book; dispensing with Preface, and even with Dedication, other than that which I hereby make of it, with all my heart, to those who will take the pains to read it.

If it be necessary to render any apology for beginning thus unceremoniously my readers will understand that I had no space in these, my first volumes, to throw away; nor much time at my disposal, which I could, in justice, use for introducing myself and my works to the world.

Having commenced thus abruptly then, I will venture to take upon myself the sin of calling this one of the series of Letters of which I have spoken; although I am writing it several years later, and placing it at the beginning of my book; by which means I will be enabled briefly to introduce myself to my readers (who, as yet, know little or nothing of me), and also the subjects of the following epistles, with such explanations of the customs described in them, as will serve for a key or glossary to the same, and prepare the reader's mind for the information they contain.

Amidst the multiplicity of books which are, in this enlightened age, flooding the world, I feel it my duty, as early as possible, to beg pardon for making a book at all; and in the next (if my readers should become so much interested in my narrations, as to censure me for the brevity of the work) to take some considerable credit for not having trespassed too long upon their time and patience.

Leaving my readers, therefore, to find out what is in the book, without promising them anything, I proceed to say—of *myself*, that I was born in Wyöming, in North America, some thirty or forty years since, of parents

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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114 who entered that beautiful and famed valley soon after the close of the revolutionary war, and the disastrous event of the "Indian massacre."

The early part of my life was whiled away, apparently, somewhat in vain, with books reluctantly held in one hand, and a rifle or fishing-pole firmly and affectionately grasped in the other.

At the urgent request of my father, who was a practising lawyer, I was prevailed upon to abandon these favourite themes, and also my occasional dabblings with the brush, which had secured already a corner in my affections; and I commenced reading the law for a profession, under the direction of Reeve and Gould, of Connecticut. I attended the lectures of these learned judges for two years—was admitted to the bar—and practised the law, as a sort of *Nimrodical* lawyer, in my native land, for the term of two or three years; when I very deliberately sold my law library and all (save my rifle and fishing-tackle), and converting their proceeds into brushes and paint pots; I commenced the art of painting in Philadelphia, without teacher or adviser.

I there closely applied my hand to the labours of the art for several years; during which time my mind was continually reaching for some branch or enterprise of the art, on which to devote a whole life-time of enthusiasm; when a delegation of some ten or fifteen noble and dignified-looking Indians, from the wilds of the "Far West," suddenly arrived in the city, arrayed and equipped in all their classic beauty,—with shield and helmet,—with tunic and manteau,—tinted and tasselled off, exactly for the painter's palette!

In silent and stoic dignity, these lords of the forest strutted about the city for a few days, wrapped in their pictured robes, with their brows plumed with the quills of the war-eagle, attracting the gaze and admiration of all who beheld them. After this, they took their leave for Washington City, and I was left to reflect and regret, which I did long and deeply, until I came to the following deductions and conclusions.

121 Black and blue cloth and civilization are destined, not only to veil, but to obliterate the grace and beauty of Nature. Man, in the simplicity and loftiness of his nature, unrestrained and unfettered by the disguises of art, is surely the most beautiful model for the painter,—and the country from which he hails is unquestionably the best study or school of the arts in the world: such I am sure, from the models I have seen, is the wilderness of North America. And the history and customs of such a people, preserved by pictorial illustrations, are themes worthy the life-time of one man, and nothing short of the loss of my life, shall prevent me from visiting their country, and of becoming their historian.

114 There was something inexpressibly delightful in the above resolve, which was to bring me amidst such living models for my brush: and at the same time to place in my hands again, for my living and protection, the objects of my heart above-named; which had long been laid by to rust and decay

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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in the city, without the remotest prospect of again contributing to my amusement. 114

I had fully resolved—I opened my views to my friends and relations, but got not one advocate or abettor. I tried fairly and faithfully, but it was in vain to reason with those whose anxieties were ready to fabricate every difficulty and danger that could be imagined, without being able to understand or appreciate the extent or importance of my designs, and I broke from them all,—from my wife and my aged parents,—myself my only adviser and protector.

With these views firmly fixed—armed, equipped, and supplied, I started out in the year 1832, and penetrated the vast and pathless wilds which are familiarly denominated the great "Far West" of the North American Continent, with a light heart, inspired with an enthusiastic hope and reliance that I could meet and overcome all the hazards and privations of a life devoted to the production of a literal and graphic delineation of the living manners, customs, and character of an interesting race of people, who are rapidly passing away from the face of the earth—lending a hand to a dying nation, who have no historians or biographers of their own to pourtray with fidelity their native looks and history; thus snatching from a hasty oblivion what could be saved for the benefit of posterity, and perpetuating it, as a fair and just monument, to the memory of a truly lofty and noble race.

I have spent about eight years already in the pursuit above-named, having been for the most of that time immersed in the Indian country, mingling with red men, and identifying myself with them as much as possible, in their games and amusements; in order the better to familiarize myself with their superstitions and mysteries, which are the keys to Indian life and character.

It was during the several years of my life just mentioned, and whilst I was in familiar participation with them in their sports and amusements, that I penned the following series of epistles; describing only such glowing or curious scenes and events as passed under my immediate observation; leaving their early history, and many of their traditions, language, &c. for a subsequent and much more elaborate work, for which I have procured the materials, and which I may eventually publish.

I set out on my arduous and perilous undertaking with the determination of reaching, ultimately, every tribe of Indians on the Continent of North America, and of bringing home faithful portraits of their principal personages, both men and women, from each tribe; views of their villages, games, &c. and full notes on their character and history. I designed, also, to procure their costumes, and a complete collection of their manufactures and weapons, and to perpetuate them in a *Gallery unique*, for the use and instruction of future ages. 121

I claim whatever merit there may have been in the originality of such a 114

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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●114 design, as I was undoubtedly the first artist who ever set out upon such a work, designing to carry his canvass to the Rocky Mountains; and a considerable part of the following Letters were written and published in the New York Papers, as early as the years 1832 and 1833; long before the Tours of Washington Irving, and several others, whose interesting narratives are before the world.

I have, as yet, by no means visited *all* the tribes; but I have progressed a very great way with the enterprise, and with far greater and more complete success than I expected.

I have visited forty-eight different tribes, the greater part of which I found speaking different languages, and containing in all 400,000 souls. I have brought home safe, and in good order, 310 portraits in oil, all painted in their native dress, and in their own wigwams; and also 200 other paintings in oil, containing views of their villages—their wigwams—their games and religious ceremonies—their dances—their ball plays—their buffalo hunting, and other amusements (containing in all, over 3000 full-length figures); and the landscapes of the country they live in, as well as a very extensive and curious collection of their costumes, and all their other manufactures, from the size of a wigwam down to the size of a quill or a rattle.

A considerable part of the above-named paintings, and Indian manufactures, will be found amongst the very numerous illustrations in the following pages; having been, in every instance, faithfully copied and reduced by my own hand, for the engraver, from my original paintings; and the reader of this book who will take the pains to step in to "CATLIN'S NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN GALLERY," will find nearly every scene and custom which is described in this work, as well as many others, carefully and correctly delineated, and displayed upon the walls, and every weapon (and every "Sachem" and every "Sagamore" who has wielded them) according to the tenor of the tales herein recited.

So much of *myself* and of my *works*, which is all that I wish to say at present.

Of the INDIANS, I have much more to say, and to the following delineations of them, and their character and customs, I shall make no further apology for requesting the attention of my readers.

121 The Indians (as I shall call them), the savages or red men of the forests and prairies of North America, are at this time a subject of great interest and some importance to the civilized world; rendered more particularly so in this age, from their relative position to, and their rapid declension from, the civilized nations of the earth. A numerous nation of human beings, whose origin is beyond the reach of human investigation,—whose early history is lost—whose term of national existence is nearly expired—three-fourths of whose country has fallen into the possession of civilized man within the short space of 250 years—twelve millions of whose bodies have fattened the soil in the mean time; who have fallen victims to whiskey, the small-pox and the

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS AND GROS VENTRES EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

AS DESCRIBED BY A PARTNER OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY.

101 175 The Mandans were unknown to white men, until they were visited by the Sons of Sieur Veranderie, who reached the Missouri, by way of the Mouse river, and, in January, 1743, discovered the Rocky mountains. The Jesuit Coquard, who had accompanied the Veranderies in some of their expeditions, writes that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these, were the Gros Ventres, the Crows, the Flat Heads, the Black Feet and Dog Feet, who were established on the Missouri, even up to the Falls, and about thirty leagues beyond they found a narrow pass in the mountains.

● 114 After the organization of the North-west Company of Montreal, English traders came from the Assinaboine river, to trade with the tribes of the Missouri. The compiler of this article has in his possession a copy of the unpublished journal of Alexander Henry, a partner of the North-west Company, which contains the following account of what he knows of the condition, position and customs of the Mandans at the beginning of the present century, and extracts from which are worthy of preservation for the use of the antiquarian and ethnologist.

On the 7th of July, 1806, Henry left the post of the North-west Company at the junction of the Pembina with the Red River of the North, and on the 12th he arrived at the establishments of Riviere la Souris (Mouse river), on the south side of the Assinaboine river. A Hudson Bay Company post was on the north side, where a North-west Company post was once situated. He found the Hudson Bay Company's people very busy in making hair lines which are used to fetter horses. He writes: "The hair which they commonly make use of, is that which the buffalo has between the horns, which is sometimes upward of a foot long. They also make use of the horse hair for that purpose, which is much stronger."

The post near the Mouse River of the North West Company was in charge of F. A. LaRocque. On Monday the 14th of July the expedition left for the Missouri, consisting of Henry, Allan McDonald, T. Viandria, Joseph Du Charme, and Hugh McCracken, * the guide an old Irishman who had once been a soldier in the British artillery. McCracken was the per-

* Lewis and Clarke found McCracken in 1804 at the Mandan Village where they wintered. In an account of their expedition published in *Harper's Family Library*, vol. 1, page 125, under date of November 1, 1804, is the following: "Mr. McCracken the trader whom we found here set out to-day on his return to the British fort and factory on the Assiniboin River, about one hundred and fifty miles from this place."

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

son who Lewis and Clarke found in October, 1804, trading among the Indians. On the 19th Henry and party came in sight of the Missouri. He writes in his Journal: "Descending the high banks we came to the river Bourbeuse [Bourbeux, Moiy.] We had much difficulty in crossing; on both sides nothing but soft clay, into which our horses sunk almost up to their ears. Having got through we washed and cleaned them, and ourselves in the Missouri * * * At 2 o'clock we saddled and proceeded on passing near to the water side. At the foot of the Lodge de Serpent is a bank upon the north side of the Missouri, about three hundred feet high; the side fronting the river is very steep and barren composed of gravel intermixed with a quantity of flat decayed stones of bluish and iron color with some streaks."

A short distance from the foot of the hill was a Gros Ventres winter village[1] and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon they arrived opposite the mouth of the Knife River, on the bank of which a mile from the Missouri, was also a village of Gros Ventres.[2] Riding down on the north bank of the Missouri, a distance of five miles, to a Mandan village, "we passed," writes Henry, "through one of their old villages that was abandoned a few years ago; they have now built about a mile lower down the river. Near this deserted village we saw great numbers of the dead exposed upon stages about eight feet from the ground. The envelopes or coverings are generally of dressed leathe- and parchments, many of which were still good, whilr others were decayed, and nothing but the bones appeared. e * * We now met a Mandan who was well armed, he ac* companied a party of women that were hoeing corn, and he served as their guard. On perceiving us, he instantly came up and shook hands with us and expressed himself by signs that we should put up at his village. We saw numbers of women and children at work in the corn field.

Just before we entered the village we were met by the chief of the place, Chat Noir * [Black Cat] and a number of the natives. Every one of them were shaking hands with us, and bid us welcome. The chief then conducted us to one of his huts, appropriated for the reception of the strangers. He has another, in which the principal friends of his family resides. He keeps one of his wives, in the one we were in, to attend upon his guests, cook, bring water, etc., and to serve as a bed fellow if required.

In a moment, the whole village flocked around us, and all were curious to see what articles we had brought to trade, and they were neither troublesome, nor impertinent. Having unsaddled our horses, and taken our baggage into the hut, the

* Lewis and Clarke made Poescpeeah or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation.

1 [See category 116, p. 322, for section missing here, which is in original Account Book 4 of]

2 [See category 116, p. 323, for missing section.—Ed.]